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Review of Files - Manuel Ray y Rivero
DCD Documents
May 2, 1978

1. Memo dated 24 Oct 1962 to Chief, Contact Division, from Chief, San Francisco Office
   Subject: Suitability of Manuel Ray and Miro Cardona for Important Roles in a Possible New Cuban Government

Information received from [redacted] Professor of Political Science at [redacted] and long-time source of exceptional value. [redacted] visited in Miami and contacted about 25 former Castro supporters representing a broad political gamut. [redacted] got the impression from many of the Cubans that they suspected Ray of being a "possible Communist sleeper". [redacted] reluctant to pass along this information, because accusations were very broad.

2. Information report dated 16 July 1962 and Earlier
   Source: Cuban National (Alien File #A-12570921) who asked for an interview on occasion of first contact with CIA.

RETURN TO CIA Background Use Only Do Not Reproduce

Cannot vouch for his bona fides. Had credential indicating membership in branch of revolutionary army's intelligence service, now in exile in U.S. and maintaing connections with colleagues in that country.

A friend of his reports plans to assassinate top Castro leadership in Cuba. To be done by poison -- "Clostridium Botulinum" which is strong, odorless, and tasteless. Takes about 12 days to kill. About 5cc would do the job. Waiting for next visit of major delegation from a Communist country -- dinner in honor of the occasion should bring together most of the important members of the regime and that is when the attempt will be made.

2. Cable dated Oct. 3, 1961 - WA CITE NYOR 4902 Support (Travis) info L/A Branch from Daniels. Source is Ernesto Dezaldo - Cuban lawyer now living in New York City. Stated the MRP in Havana is far less radical than under the leadership of Ray, who has been completely discredited in recent months. Primary purpose today is (a) assassination of top leaders in Castro regime and (B) sabotage of important industrial and government installations in Havana. Strength of MRP in Havana estimated to exceed 1,000 -- success measured more in terms of fund raising ability and blowing up of buildings.

DRE

3. Information dated June 4, 1961, Subject: Underground Student Leader Comments on Post-invasion Cuba. Reporting officer talked with ISIDRO BORJA, on the leaders of DRE. Borja says top DRE members in jail or in a friendly embassy in Havana but said new leaders have been selected and will resume sabotage activities shortly. Thought the underground could restore tension in Cuba in 3-4 months. However, said outside help needed to get rid of Castro. Claimed that prior to invasion, is was possible to buy almost anything in Cuba from Castro officials -- they were tainted by corruption. Since Castro's victory at Bay of Pigs, his popular support is estimated to be around 80-85%. Most support is out of fear because the people believe he will be in power permanently. Borja said DRE outside of Cuba working hard for release of former leader, Alberto Muller from prison.

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DCD Documents - Manuel Ray y Rivero
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4. Memo to Acting Chief, Contact Division dtd 20 May 1964
From: Chief, Miami Field Office
Subject: Alleged "New York Times" Publicity Build-up for Manolo Ray

Hal Hendrix, Scripps-Howard L.A. correspondent believes NY Times publicity buildup for Ray in full swing. Tad Szulc reporting Ray's war movements from Miami. Also with Szulc is close friend, Henry Raymont of the Times. Hendrix said Times playing up Ray while downplaying Artime and Gutierrez Menoyo. Think's Times exaggerating Ray's plans to take teams of highly trained guerrillas into Cuba, and that Ray's "war" is little more than an MGM-type New York Times production so far.

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Review of Manuel Ray y Rivero Files, Volumes I - VIII

March 29, 1978
Volume I   Undated to September 1960

1. Cable suggests that an offer of financial assistance to Ray's wife and children from CIA rather than through the FRD may pay large future dividends. Family to arrive circa September 1960.

2. Cable to Director
From: MASH
19 September 1960

Increasing suspicion RAUL CHIBAS a Castro plant. Since exfiltration by KAPPES, CHIBAS has laid low but back in picture as representative of RAY. Common knowledge that CHIBAS brought KAPPES out of Cuba, but should be noted that KAPPES has since been in and out of Cuba three times with no apparent difficulties.

CHIBAS' sources of information:
- Mason in U. S. government
- Manuel de Jesus and Bender as FRD representatives
- Nino Diaz as Alianza representative
- Don Hogan Kappes as Alberto Fernandez representative.

This should get a good picture of the U.S. anti-Castro activities.

* 3. Summer 1960. Ray very actively recruited to become FRD member. CIA considered him an important political asset. RAUL CHIBAS, Ray's assistant, spoke for him with U.S. authorities. Urged strong organization inside Cuba before outside help could be effective. CHIBAS meets with Bender 9/7/60, says he is in favor of FRD but completely committed to Ray and would check with him.

* 4. 27 September 1960.
Memo to Western Hemisphere/4 Chief
From: Rudolph E. Gomez, Acting Chief, WH
Subject: Approval from State to Include Manuel Ray Rivero in the FRD Complex

At a 20 September 1960 meeting, Ray's name was suggested for inclusion in FRD and State desired to look further into his background. Ray was discussed again on 9/27/60 with Mr. Divine who further conferred with Ambassador Mallory same day and Mallory approved Ray's inclusion.

* 5. September 29, 1960 cable from MASH to WH9 indicates MASH somewhat doubtful about Ray's feelings toward U.S. and continued dealings with this group needs further policy consideration.

* There is a restricted CI/OA folder on Ray of this 201 file held under [C#85514]

* Ask about -- documents sent for microfilming in July 7, 1967.
[UGFA 12222] 3 November 1963 201 239298

6. Ray granted Provisional Operation Approval (POA) on 25 October 1960. (form says, Green list attached 104591)

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Volume I - Manuel Ray
Page 2

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7. PRQ Part 2 [169 C85514
Section I Contact and Development]

Woodrow C. Olien met Ray October 1958 when Ray was head of Civic Resistence Movement in Havana. Three clandestine meetings were held prior to 1 January 1959, attended by Olien, Wallace A. Growery, [redacted] (MRC member) who originally introduced Olien to Ray. After 1 January 1959, Ray given important post in revolutionary government and Olien has seen him only twice since, Olien paising as political officer to State Department.

Section II of PRQ states Ray is friendly to U.S., once having received a grant for special study there. A dedicated, patriotic Cuban, opposed to Communism but taken no active part in combatting it.

8. An undated, unaddressed letter from Antonio Gonsales Mora, Jr. --- P.S. Says Joaquin Sanjenis appears to be a person in whom CIA has great confidence. Linked to Artime conspiracy. Responsible for all "inter-Cuban" intelligence matters. Is a "shady character" -- gangster background -- gives impression of mental retardation. Not known as individual of any importance, but he is! "An inexplicable affair"

9. PRQ Part 2 (contd)
Section VI -- Subject has definite political action potential, is a pro-democratic official of government who is not in sympathy with aims of international Communism and who is interested in strengthening ties between Cuba and U. S. Probably would never consent to agent status, but could by persuasion and argument be encouraged to influence policies of his government along lines compatible with U.S. government policies.

Section XIV -- Information in PRQ Parts I and II were obtained from file research and personal contact with subject.

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Review of Manuel Ray y Rivero Files, Volumes I - VIII
March 29, 1978

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Volume II
October 1, 1960 - November 22, 1960

* 1. As of 21 November 1960, MRP organized as follows:

Manuel Ray - Chief
Raul Chibas - Sepcial Assistant to Ray
Juan Esteves Ramires - Secretary
Ramon Barquin - Military and Intelligence matters
Cisneros - Chief of MRP in Cuba

1. 10/4/60 Cable from London claims that new Cuban resistance group organized under Ray and has 400-500 men in Las Villas Province. Not part of FRD but in touch with it.

* 2. 10/7/60 Cable from Havana. AURELIANO SANCHEZ ARANGO has withdrawn from FRD. JUSTO CARRILLO and FELIPE PAZOS will be integrated into Ray's MRP. VARONA wishes to join, also, but Ray insists VARONA return to Cuba to do so.

3. 10/12/60 Cable to Director. RAMON BARQUIN claims CARRILLO and ARANGO are going to boycott FRD Executive Committee and sabotage its work. Barquin planning to join with Pazos, Ray, Chibas, MIRO and QUEVEDO to form a new frente and then request union with FRD. If accepted, Barquin would become military head. If Barquin does not get U.S. government support for this plan, he will return to Cuba to try to overthrow Castro and win election on an anti-Yankee platform.

* 4. 10/17/60 Contact report from Wallace A. Parlett
Subject: Meeting with JUAN ESTEVEZ and JORGE BERUFF, 10/13/60
Cubans said Ray's group will not lower themselves to answer "Fidelismo without Fidel" charge and let their actions speak for themselves. MRP is highly disciplined and feel the majority of Cuban people favor thir platform. Its leaders are interchangeable. If Ray comes out of Cuba, Chibas or Estevez could go in and take his place.

5. 10/24/60 Memo for files
Subject: Representative of Manuel Ray to Professional Groups

ENRIQUE HIRAM GUTIERREZ y RODRIGUEZ (dob 5/20/31, Havana) travels frequently to Puerto Rico on architectural business. Also frequently enters U. S. at Miami. Represents Ray's organization to various professional groups in Havana. Also serves as courier to Miami.

DRE

6. DRE information. 10/24/60 Cable states MULLER reported receiving letter from ANTONIO GARCIA, DRE representative in Cuba that organization is going well but needs funds and material aid. MASH asks Mueller to get details of Garcia's "groupos de accion" and details of organization. MASH gave Muller $500 for Garcia. Muller is concerned about Manolo Ray

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whom he says is gaining strength in Cuba. Says students eager to join active group and will go to Ray if DRE can't get help soon.

7. Provisional Operational Approval granted to Ray on 10/26/60.

* 8. 10/26/60 Cable to Director from Havana reports Ray held MRP meeting on 10/23/60 and made following statements:

a. MAJOR WILLIAM MORGAN had been very helpful to MRP - responsible for obtaining most of their weapons.
b. In four months, MRP will have 20,000 militants throughout Cuba. Organiz ed now in all provinces except Pinar del Rio. Invasion could not take place for 4 months but FRD still in favor of earlier date.
c. CARRILLO and ANGEL del CERRO have left FRD and now with MRP

MRP urging Ray to escape Cuba and they feel it is only a matter of time until he is picked up and executed. MRP manifesto will be released this weekend.

9. 10/28/60 Monthly payments of [$400] approved for Ray's wife in behalf of Bender group.

* 10. 10/28/60 Memo for Record
Subject: Conversation of CARRILLO and [PAUL J. MANSON] Chief, MASH
Economic philosophy: When FRD first formed it was attacked by RUBIO PADILLA as "Fidelismo without Fidel." Now FRD saying same thing about MRP.

* 11. 11/5/60 Cable to Director from MASH
Verona tells HUNT that he received information that Ray wanted to leave Cuba and was to be exfiltrated clandestinely by Bender group.

12. 11/8/60 Memo for Record [John D. Peters]
Subject: [Contact] report on meeting with ROGELIO GONZALES

Gonzales considers Ray highly dangerous because of his ambition to play prominent role in Cuban government after overthrow of Castro. Thinks he poises threat to Varona's authority inside Cuba. Ray appears to have support of middle class, politicians and professionals. Should Ray join FRD, Gonzales thinks he will still operate on a unilateral basis while seeking to supercede FRD with MRP.

* 13. 11/11/60 Cable to Director from JMASH
Ray arrived Tampa morning of 11/10/60. Mash officer staying with him until surfacing date which depends on safe arrival from Cuba of two other individuals. They are the last of the HUBER MATOS escapee group known by Ray to still be hiding in Cuba.

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14. 11/14/60 Cable to Director from MASH.
Ray to surface at press conference scheduled for 11/16/60 in Miami.

15. 11/17/60 Cable to Director from MASH
On 11/15/60 [Parlett] alias Bender met with Ray in complete privacy. "Unquestionably, the youthful, softspoken, unassuming, almost humble Ray is a natural leader of highest intellect, deepest sincerity and conviction." Ray's political posture doubtful as far as U.S. government acceptance is concerned.

Explained to Ray the U.S. government's desire to have all Cuban exiles unified in their efforts. Ray says MRP does not wish to reinstate 1940 constitution. Provisional government of 30 honorable Cubans would be established and elections held 18 months thereafter. Castro laws passed at beginning of his regime to be promulgated. State would regulate private investment and utilities would be nationalized.

Ray wants to keep MRP "lean and hungry" -- each member to have specific responsibilities and feel important to revolution.

Ray asked for permission to start a fund drive in Cuba and U.S. Also asked for $10,000 by next Wednesday -- Bender made commitment.

[Parlett] believes net result of meeting was establishment of private MRP-U.S. link and door remains open for some kind of relationship with FRD. Ray agrees to discuss this with Miro Cardona. Of all the groups being supported, FRD, MRP and MRR are most significant. All Cuban groups seem to be looking to Bender group to show a preference before joining one of the above three. How long current flexibility can be maintained is problematical.

16. 11/21/60 Memo for Record
Subject: Meeting with King and Esterline on subject of handling MRP, 11/18/60

Consensus was that Ray did not politically represent anything to cheer about. Writer felt MRP opposed to joining FRD and recognized need to control MRP and wean it away to the extent possible from its leaders. Could be done by controlling financial and military support. It was agreed in meeting with Mr. Barnes that financial and military support for MRP be channelled through FRD.

17. 11/23/60 Contact Report: Meeting with Ray and Chibas in NYC, 11/22/60
Ray says MRP has contacts at Isle of Pines with two garrisons and can expect about 750 men to desert Castro at proper time. CAPTAIN CAPOTA is contact with Ray's group.

Ray's people also in contact with commander of prison where Huber Matos is incarcerated. Matos believes PADILLA, the prison commander, would assist

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him in an escape. Ray interested in single operation to get military defectors and free Matos. Wants to effect plan on 11/27/60.

Ray wants assistance from U.S. -- military information and supplies.

18. 11/24/60 Cable to Director from JMASH
Meeting with AMCHIRP-1 on 11/23, revealed he had information that MRP in Havana had capabilities to blow up power plant and TV stations in Havana -- a diversionary tactic planned to coordinate with Isle of Pines operation. Ray expects Isle of Pines operation support about 12/15/60.

* Notation about Cable: "Operation Unity" is to create dramatic show which will demonstrate that Manolo Ray is wrong when telling contacts in U.S. that his group is the only one capable of action."

19. 11/24/60 Cable to Director from Havana.
Operation Unity involves MRR, MDI, OA, 30th of November Group and MAR (not MAR of PEPIN RIVERO).

MAR and OA groups to blow electric cables in Regla area. MDC group, at same time, to make assassination attempt on CARLOS RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ at University of Havana.

20. 11/30/60 Cable to Director from Havana
JULIO ANGEL METRE advised planning to travel to Miami 12/1/60 escorted by Brazilian ambassador to Panama. Accompanied by ambassador's wife. MESTRE will be introduced to Ray and will offer services of MDC to Ray at that time. Mestre says plan is approved by "DR. LUCAS" (JOSE FERNANDEZ BADUE) MDC coordinator in Cuba.

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File Review - Manuel Ray y Rivero Volume III of XVIII
March 30, 1978

December 1960 - January 1961 1110827

1. Cable 12/6/60 to Director from [Gold]
Ray contacted by [Weisinger] and made statement that Isle of Pine's operation failed in his opinion because Bender failed to forward paper to Havana with key to operation.

2. 12/8/60 Cable to Director from WAVE

Ray advised [Wiesinger] he is departing for Washington same day to visit ERNESTA BETANCOURT of OAS and others. In New York on 12/9 to contact Raul Chibas. Return Miami about 12/11/60.

3. 12/23/60 Cable to Director from Havana indicates Ray wishes return to Cuba as soon as possible and [asks that OLIEN make arrangements] through his official channel. Doesn't want Cubans in WAVE or Cuba to know of his return.

* 4. 12/22/60 Information report from U.S. citizen, free-lance writer and part-time sugar broker [(DONALD HOGAN)]

Says Miro Cardona has accepted teaching position in Puerto Rico effective early January 1961. Is disgusted with bickering among anti-Castro Cubans and will sit on sidelines for time being. Is partivularly opposed to Ray -- program is too Marxist and Ray is an opportunist.

* 5. 1/16/61 Information Report from U.S. national in a U.S. governemnt agency. Source had contact with DR. GUILLERMO SALAZAR SANCHEZ, former Cuban ambassador to Switzerland and DR. SERGIO ROJAS SANTAMARINA, former Cuban Ambassador to United Kingdom. Salazar said he had heard from a reliable source that Ray was not a bona fide defector and still acting on behalf of Castro and is a member of the "Blue Legion". (no further explanation.)

Dr. Salazar mentioned group called "The Ten Unknowns" who are key figures in making Communist policy in Latin America. (Ray not implicated as one of these).

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Review of Manuel Ray y Rivero Files, Volumes 1 - XVIII (201-239298

April 6, 1978 11110828

VOLUME IV - February 1, 1961 - March 31, 1961

* 1. Operation Approval granted for Ray's use as a political asset on 7 February 1961

2. Memo to WH/4?Security, From WH/4?CI
Subject: Eloy Gutierrez Menoyo Group
Date: 23 February 1961

Ray pressuring Mr. Droller to have four individuals freed from McAllen Detention Camp who belong to Gutierrez group. Ray claims they are members of his group and have been most active against Castro regime in Cuba. They are as follows: ASENCIO, Suarez, Lazaro
LESNIK, Menendez, Max DPOB 8 Sept 1930, Vueltas, Las Villas
PORTA Bolanos, Gustavo
REDONDO, Gonzalez, Roger

* 3. Cable to Bell, from JMWAVE
Date: March 1, 1961

Artime advises that Ray's group opposed to banning Communist Party and in favor of "nationalizing everything". Ray favors maintaining trade with USSR, wants no change in present agrarian reform program.

4. Cable to JMWAVE from Bell
Date: March 10, 1961

INS is concerned over the increased news coverage of Ray's arrival in U.S. and activities here. Afraid they will be confronted about Ray's arrival (which was describad as "black" in another communication) so JMWAVE asked to re-advise Ray that his story is that on 10 Nov 1960, he landed somewhere on Keys in a fishing boat, made way to road where picked up by INS patrol car, taken to WAVE area, examined, declared refugge and released with admonition to always keep INS advised of his address.

* 5. Memo to S - Dr. Berle, From: ARA - Philip W. Bonsal
Subject: Recent Cuban Developments
Date: March 16, 1961

Conversation with Jose Miro Cardona and Berle, reveals that Cardona has misgivings about Ray and Pazoz and the MRP. Says Ray is bitterly anti-American as well as probably totalitarian in his thinking. He no longer believes Ray has any considerable support inside Cuba. Thinks Ray group endeavoring to exercise influence in our government so as to be the major recipient of whatever assistance can be obtained here. He is particularly ~~concern~~ concerned about the role played by Felipe Pazos.

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Review of Manuel Ray files
Volume iV of xviii
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6. Field Information Report
Subject: Background, Character and Economic Concepts of Manuel Ray Rivero
Date: 16 March 1961
Sources: Dr. Oscar SALAS Marrero (paragraphs 1-11) Knew Ray in Cuba
Dr. Jose ALVAREZ Diaz, former Minister of Finance under Prio (Pg 12)
Dr. Jorge BERUFF, former president of Banco de Desarrollo Economico de Cuba, (pg 13)

Note: Cover note pencilled comment (The content is so biased and mixed with untruth that it would be a disservice to the intelligence community to disseminate it.

Synopsis of paragraphs 1-11. (Dr. Salas) says during his childhood Ray was a Protestant but today is completely atheistic. Said Ray organized the MRC against Batista and shortly after Batista's fall, MRC and 26th of July Movement fused into one, and as soon as Castro came into power, control of the organization was given to the Communists. Tells of Ray's association with Castro and that he did not resign his position when his own brother was renounced by Castro. Stated that Ray's rupture with Fidel was due to the fact that Ray opposed the idea of shooting Hubert Matos as a traitor. Ray resigned his post but said publicly that he approved and supported the Castro regime without any mental reservations. Says in Cuban clandestine circles Ray is regarded as boastful, ostentatious and deceitful. Intimate friends of Ray feel that he is a man of anti-democratic procedures, and does not like to take advice, even from members of his own movement.

Synopsis of paragraph 12. (Dr. Alvarez) said Ray was in favor of maintaining relations with USSR and not making Communist Party illegal. Said that although Ray withdrew all these statements when threatened with press coverage, (Alvarez) thinks they are representative of Ray's thinking and would try to put ideas into practice if he ever came to power. (Alverez) also mentioned Rays thinking on nationalization of public services, socialized medicine, nationalization of banks, etc.

Synopsis of paragraph 13. (Dr. Beruff) said Ray well-intentioned with no Communist tendencies. Cited a meeting at which the basic points of the MRP platform were discussed and said that since Ray was in disagreement with the others on most of the points, Dr. Felipe Pazos acted as chairman of the meeting and Ray argued his case as a simple member of the group. Out of this meeting came a declaration of 14 points, including the nationalization of the banks and public utilities.

On 9 March, Ray said that ideas attributed to him in paragraph 12 were not true and part of a "campaign against him by Mr. Pawley of the Miami City Transit Company".

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Review of Manuel Ray files
Volume 1Y of xviii
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* 7. Report dated March 17, 1961, Marked Urgent

"It has been reported by a very reliable source that Manuel Ray (MRP) is bringing as an Adviser, Professor Fiterre from Habana University - This man Fiterre is an undisclosed Communist that has always openly admitted and braged about being aCommunist.

* 8. Memorandum for the Record
Date: 27 March 1961
Subject: Ray accepts appointment to Council: -----
Signed: Gerard Droller

Miro was able to convince Ray to join CRC. Thus, as of 27 March 1961, Council's composition isas follows: Chairman: Miro Cardona; Board of Directors: Varona, Hevia, Carrillo, Maceo, Ray and Artime.

9. Memorandum for the Record
Date: 27 March 1961
Subject: Reported Anti-MRP Rally Promoted by Aureliano Sanchez Arango
Signed: B. E. Reishhardt

Julio Lobo reported that Sanchez is planning a rally in Miami, 29 March to protest against the Ray/Pazos combine in the revolutionary council. Writer says, obviously, such a rally at this time could be most damaging and some attempt should be made to get to Sanchez to take the steam out of this maneuver.

Betsy Palmer

Review of Manuel Ray y Rivero Files, Volumes I - XVIII

April 6, 1978
VOLUME V - April 1961 - July 1961

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1. Cable from JMWAVE to Bell
Date: April 3, 1961

Ray meets with [Olien] and said he was not as yet prepared to join FRD. Said Miro had welshed on commitments and while willing to accept Ray into CRC, not willing to give him any voice in the Council. [Olein] apptempts to convince Ray he was doing great disservice to Cuban people by refusing to serve within FRD.

2. Cable to JMWAVE from Bell
Date: April 4, 1961

"To test actual MRP capabilities inside request you inform Ray to hit targets G, I and K during period 5-10 April. Attack target 0 including diesel locomotive engines immediately. Will forward additional targets if Ray shows any capability."

3. Letter to Editor (Pencilled note: Propaganda against MRP by Artime's replacement Jose Manuel Hernandez Puentes received from QD Date 6 Apr 61.)

"I am a Cuban who still thinks that Cuba can be rehabilitated after the fall of Castro. For this reason many Cubans have been baffled by the list of names now given as the saviors of Cuba for a Provisional Government. Among these are such notorious Castro followers as: Ray, Barquin, Pazos, Rufo Lopez Fresquet, Chibas and others whose names remind us of an era of mourning, persecution and misery."

4. Report on Manuel Ray received from [Enrique Molinet] a road and airfield construction engineer under Batista regime. Cover note dated 4/7/61. [Molinet] outlines his distaste for Ray, citing at the beginning his refusal to leave Castro even after the questionable suicide of his brother, Rene. After Ray was ousted from his Cabinet job, he continued to visit Castro, occupying a prominent position in all Castro's public appearances. Said that even before Castro, Ray was an active member of the Cuban Orthodox Party, highly infiltrated with communists. Claims that when Ray in his Cabinet position, indoctrinations programs were held expousing communistic ideals. Also while Minister of Public Works, claims he (Ray) threw out hundreds of employees without due cause and destroyed every successful contractor that existed.

5. Memorandum for the Record
Subject: Custody of Revolutionary Council, 19-20 April 1961
Signed: [Robert F. Moroney]
Date: 24 April 1961

Relates that on 19 April 1961, President Kennedy met with the six members of FRD's Revolutionary Council where President expressed his deep sorrow and concern over the failure of the military effort (Bay of Pigs). Ray one of the group.

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Review of Manuel Ray Files
Volume iv of xviii
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6. Memorandum for the Record
   Date: 5 May 1961
   Subject: Manolo Ray - Comments on his Anti-Castro Activities
   Signed: Calvin Hicks WH/4/PM/Operations

"Ray is balieved to have accomplished pratically nothing towards the effort to overthow Castro. Instead, it seems that whenever we played with his so-called assets, we were burned. He is notorious for claiming assets or operations, several days after some other group had already set them up or claimed them. Whenever it came to producing and backing up his claims, he always came up with excuses for not producing, rather than results. He has always tended to try to take over other goups, rather than cooperate with them, and when he couldn't take them over he would "politic" against them. His actions all seemed to be directed toward making him the future power in Cuba rather than toward overthrowing Castro. It is believed that Manolo RAY is so far "left" in his thinking that he would be as dangerous (or more so in the long run) to United States interests as Castro, if he ever got to be the power in Cuba."

7. Memorandum for the Record
   Subject: ~~Manolo/R~~ Relations with Manolo Ray and the MRP
   Date: 2 June 1961
   Signed: [redacted]

In a 12 May 1961 meeting, Ray promises to write a prospectus of his plans for MRP within ten days. Not received by 2 June, but Ernesto Betancourt is asking for financial support for MRP activities. Tracy Barnes agrees with [redacted] that no money should be given Ray until his plans are studied. Ray is asking for support separate from FRD since Ray has withdrawn from this group. [redacted] further states in Memo, "...I would like to point out the security risks inherent in any arrangements with RAY-BENTANCOURT-CISNEROS trio. These fellows have had easy access to the White House and to the Department, are notorious for their 'planned leaks', will probably presume all the Department officials they deal with are privy to the arrangement, and before we know it the whole exile community will be well aware that we are providing financial and material support to the RAY group."

8. Cable to Bell from Caracas
   Date June 8, 1961
On June 2, Venezuelas governemnt refused to issue a visa to Manolo Ray.

9. Cable to Director from Caracas, dated June 28, 1961. re: meeting with Jose R. Barbeito on 20 June in Valencia. Barbeito claims was member of MRP of Manolo Ray and took part clandestine activities Havana. Admitted was communist "many years ago" but now completely opposed to Castro and Communism.

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Review of Manuel Ray Files
Volume v of xviii
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10. Intelligence Report
Date: 7-11 July 1961
Place: San Juan, P.R.
Source: Cuban Exile Lawyer
Evaluation: F-6

Report transmits information concerning activities, persons visited and purpose of visit of Ray to Puerto Rico, terminating when Ray hurridely left Puerto Rico following press account that he had been removed as Coordinator of the MRP.

Source said MRP leaders in exile believe Rays dismissal due to propaganda and pressures by the CIA which brought about the impression that the obstacle to receipt of help from outside (money, arms, etc) was Ray himself and that one Ray removed, they would receive all types of help. The exile leaders are of opinion that it was also brought about because Ray was a divisionist inasmuch as he had abandoned Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Council.

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Review of Manuel Ray y Rivero Files Volumes I - XVIII

April 6, 1978
Volume VI - August 1, 1961 - June 30, 1962

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1. Cable to JMWAVE from Director
Date: August 1, 1961

FBI conducting investigation on MRP and Ray and Director indicates he needs to know purpose of investigation to respond properly.

*2. Dispatch from Chief of Base, JMWAVE
Date: August 4, 1961
Subject: Debriefing of [Father Bastarrica]

[Father Bastarrica] recently arrived from Cuba as a political exile. At a luncheon meeting, he reported as follows:

MRP formed in Cuba around 26 July 1960. Organizers were Dr. Amalio Fiallo Gonzalez, Dr. Antonio Fernandez Nuevo, Reynol Gonzalez, Humberto Perez Herrera. All these men belonged to group called Accion Democratica. The name of MRP was suggested by Raul Chibas and in itself it does not constitute a party or group but rather a coalition of several small groups, which were the following:

a. The 20 May group, led by Manuel Ray
b. Accion Democratica, led by Dr. Fiallo
c. Accion Verde Olivo, led by Dr. Rufo Lopez Fresquet
d. 30 November Movement, led by David Salvador (never really joined)
e. Chibas' group with Jorge Beruff and Felipe Pazos
f. Dr. Valdez Pino, in asylum in Embassy of Peru and belonged to Accion Democratica.

[Father Bastarrica's] opinion of Ray is that he had no way of judging whether Ray is Communist or Marxist. Lacks quality of leadership because he does not publically hold to a definite political, social and economic ideology. He appears to agree with every person he talks to, never arguing with them or opposing them, all of which shows he has no ideology and makes him a very dangerous man. Is extremely ambitous for himself, with great desire for power.

*3. Memorandum for Chief, WH Division, dated 10 October 1961, from [Warren S. Yauger,] Subject: General - Cuban Matters; Specific - Manuel (Monolo) Ray
Planning Board of Puerto Rico announced on 9 October 1961 that Ray has accepted position as consultant to that Board. Board is an important agency of Puerto Rican government, attached to the Office of the Governor. Has broad powers over economic and social planning and is active in exercising these powers. Ray to receive $12,000 per year. Ray presently in Venezuela but expected to arrive Puerto Rico within a week.

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4. Cable to Director from JMWAVE, dated May 27, 1962 discusses front page article in Miami Herald of this date by James Buchanan entitled "Miro fades as Exile Chief: Three Latin Leaders Behind Ray". States that Ray has the backing of Gov. Monoz Marin, Pres. Romulo Betancourt and former President Jose Figueras and that Ray has taken over post with blessings of the U.S. Further states Ray's appointment as "Chief in Exile" came from underground in Cuba according to Joaquin Godoy, Provisional MRP head in Miami. Article credits Cubans in Miami with saying "new man in field" is Adolf A. Berle, Jr. who has been special asst. to State Dept. and is also member of Pres. Kennedy's special task force on Latin America. Implication being that Berle is running new U.S. sponsored Cuban effort. Release causing furor in local Cuban colony.

Cable to JMWAVE from Director, 28 May 1962 states State Department spokesman will state story without foundation at a noon press briefing this date.

5. Listing of principal persons in Puerto Rico with the MRP

RAY, Manuel	PORTELA, J. Migues
PAZOS, Felipe	CARMONA, Claudio
BARQUIN, (Col) Ramon	ESTEVEZ, Jeromino
MELENDEZ, Juan	BERGNUS
GELAVERT	ALVAREZ, Gabriel
NODAL, Rodolfo	PORTELA, Sara

* 6. On 9 June 1961 [2], Ray transmitts a detailed study of a general program designed to attain the liberation of Cuba. General Thesis states that MRP believes that the strongest position for representation and canalization of aspirations of the large majority of the Cuban people is offered by the set of ideas and aims of the democratic left.

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Review of Manuel Ray y Rivero Files, Volumes I - VIII

April 24, 1978

11110636

Volume VIII July 1962 - August 1962

*1. Cable dated July 2, 1962 to Director from [San Juan]
Clear that Manolo Ray looked upon with great favor by Puerto Rican government. No evidence, however, that Puerto Rican government is supporting the MRP. Believe record will show that while our past contact with Ray has not always been happy one, it always revealing of Ray's intentions.

*2. Memo for Chief, Task Force W from Alfonso Rodriguez 12 July 1962
Subject: Manolo Ray Rivero

"Ray has indicated to WAVE sources that whereas he is not persona grata with the Agency, he has important political connections in Washington and is thus kept informed of much of the Agency's activities. Ray's new organization is not to be military or engage in military thrusts against Cuba because military activity is presently controlled by the Agency and cannot be wrested from it at this time. Ray's new organization will cooperate with the Consejo and attempt to move in on it with the ultimate aim of taking over and dominating it."

*3. Memorandum for Chief, Task Force W from Alfonson Rodriguez 25 July 1962
Subject: Manolo Ray Meeting in New York

Ray sorry he joined FRD prior to April invation. Let tide of time suck him in and take him along. Obvious to him that show run in good faith but bad judgment. Ray discusses hope that JURE will be long-lasting organization in Cuba. Ray's political views are assessed as democratically oriented, and if he became ruler of Cuba, his greatest preoccupation would be with economic progress. Rodriguez says Ray is not to be under-estimated. Commands respect because he is well educated and has something to contribute.

*4. Ray begins to give information about possible defectors from Castro. Cable dated 25 July 1962 reports that Ray told [Willard R. Nauman] that [Armando Hart Davalos] is a feasible target.

former mgr., Kings Ranch, Cuba

7. Additional information to a July 1962 memorandum from Jack Malone (named on interoffice route slip). Information obtained from difference sources from persons close to Ray and their views are complete reliable. Ray did not leave Castro's cabinet because of ideological or policy discrepancies with Castro but because of a heated discussion with the Minister of Labor. Martinez Sanchez, who almost shot Ray after a Cabinet meeting. The sources of information agree that Ray is not any different than Castro. Some of them believe he may not have completely severed his relations with Castro and think he may still be in contact with him. Diplomatic relations were suspended but recognition was not withdrawn.

*6. Memo from [Jack Malone] dated July 16, 1962 Cover letter addressed to [C. Mechen] Says Ray's ethics are poor and he is capable of sacrifycing his own kin and friends if such sacrifice turns out in favor of his personal plans. Claims Ray is irresponsible and ignorant of present international conditions and particularly of the Cuban social and economic reality.

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Manolo Ray
Volume VII continued

Quotes Ray as having said, "When I was Minister of Public Works, we, the inner circle of the Department, took a course in Marxist economics, and if what we were taught is communism, I must say that communism is not as bad as it is claimed to be."

8. Report on visit with Ray in Puerto Rico during first week of June, 1962, submitted by Winterrowd through Walt Raymond. Winterrowd states his general impression of Ray was a good one -- seems of be a moderate, intelligent man, a little given to hysteria and slogan-mongering. Best quality is in his skill as an organizer

* 9. Cable to Director from JMWave, dated Aug 15, 1962 DIR Cite WAVE 7062 Ray had meeting in Miami area 11 or 12 August in which an informant says Ray stated that he has arsenals in Venezuela and Dominican Republic, has a B-26 plane, territory available for training in Costa Rica and has the support through indirect means of U.S. Has invited journalists from New York Times and Time Magazine to cover his announcement of the formation of JURE.

10. Cable to Mexico City from Director, dated 6 August 62 says Ray plans to travel to Central America late August or September and needs visitors visa for Mexico. Says he has close acquaintance and wants to make personal effort to recruit him or talk him into defecting.

CIA makes inquiries in an effort to obtain visa for Ray.

11. Cable to Director from San Juan, dated August 20, 1962. Ray believes Llanusa will defect but needs financial support. Jose Gelabert to make pitch to Llanusa. Later cable says CIA willing to offer Llanusa $5,000.

12. Cable to Mexico City from Director, 23 August 1962 with directions to proceed to procure visa permit but make every effort to conceal U.S. connection. Ray had agreed in N.Y. meeting to make recruitment or defection effort towards Cuban Ambassador in Mexico.

* 13. Memo to Chief, Task Force W from Alfonso Rodriguez dated 24 Aug 1962 Subject: Operational Use of Ray Expenditure of Funds

Rodriguez feels beginning collaboration with Ray can be based on three specific proposals:
1. creation of an intelligence network inside Cuba
2. creation of recruitment or defection capability to assist our efforts in MEXI, RIO, SAGO, and MONT
3. immediate effort to recruit in place Carlos LEGHUGA and Raul PRIMELLES.

Recommends paying Ray $84,700 over a six month period to begin this initial operation.

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Betsy Palmer

Review of Manolo Ray y Rivero Files - Volumes 1 - XVIII

April 24, 1978

11110838

Volume VIII - September 4, 1962 - December 27, 1962

*1. Telegram Information Report (circa Sept. 10) Unevaluated information. Ray in the U.S. 8-9 September. Intends forming new organization. Some of those participating with Ray in this effort are Felipe Pazos, Raul Chibas, Ramon Barquin and Justo Carrillo. Ray is of the opinion that nothing will be done about Cuba in the immediate future as the President of the United States is fulfilling "an expedient of a political nature." However, there is an ally in the White House who has assured Ray that if he organizes a purely revolutionary group, he will be heard.

*2. Junta Revolucionaria Cubana
Declaration of Principles outline the following areas:
1. Cuban Reaffirmation - recognition of sovereignty of the people, through suffrage
2. Human Rights - human fraternity and social solidarity for all Cubans
3. Social Justice - equality of opportunity for education, work, homes, etc.
4. Economic Development - intense industrialization
5. Agrarian Reform - Cuban pesantry to own land he cultivates
6. International Relations - break with Soviet bloc
7. Restoration of Legitimate Property - not that under public power
8. Political Parties - Communist Party will be proscribed
9. Political Prisoners - immediate release
10. Elections - within 18-month period

2. Dispatch to Chief, Task Force W from Chief of Station, JMWAVE
Date obscured

[AMTHRILL-1] provided information on Ray obtained from [Silvia KOURI de Pendas,] a fellow student of Ray's at Instituto de Segunda Ensenanza #1 in Havana. Ray never known to have sympathy for Communist cause. However, one of his good friends, Pedro Valdes Vivo, is active member of Communist cell and a brother of Raul Valdes Vivo, now sub-director of Communist paper "Noticias de Hoy."

3. Cable to Priority [San Juan,] Info: Priority JMWAVE, Priority [Mexico City]
From: Director (Rodriguez originator) dated 9 Oct 1962
[Admission visa not pauched OO forwarding document will be in WAVE hands 10 October for pass ing to Ray. Lechuga is principal target in area of Ray trip. Stress desire keep Lechuga in place in preference to defection.]

4. Memorandum for the Record dated 8 October 1962 from [Patrick I. Karnley]
Subject: Notes on Manolo Ray
In conversation with Luis Laboy, Laboy said Ray does not have any significant following among Cuban exiles -- says Ray is honest person completely motivated by patriotism but lacks qualities of a politician. Says Ray is too blunt and even Cisneros is not happy with him these days.

Puerto Rican Police are apparently canvassing Cuban exiles regarding Manolo Ray. In [(a)IN-1] Report #54 dated 30 Sept 1962, he refers to fact that both he and Fermin Alvarez Silva were visited by officer of PR Internal Security Force soliciting their opinions of Ray.

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Betsy Palmer

Manuel Ray
Volume VIII continued

11110839

5. Excerpt from Bohemia Libre 21 October 1962, page 85 Engineer Ray's Latest Attitude

Letter to magazine from Olga Hernandez, Santurce, PR - an exile who believes Ray really a Communist. Her reasons based on Ray's statements to "El Mundo" on his arrival in exile that after Castro's defeat there should be maintenance of cultural and economic relations with Russia, maintenance of militia, mainenance of confiscated property, socialized medicine, supervision of national schools and gradual supression of private schools.

Betsy Palmer

Review of Manuel Ray y Rivero Files, Volumes I - XVIII
April 24, 1978

1110840

Volume IX - January 1963 - July 1963

1. Cable to Director from Caracas, dated Feb. 22, 1963

FRANCISCO SUAREZ QUINONES wishes travel to Maimi to attend JURE rally 24 February. In view Ref B (WAVE 2462) info that Suarez communist and also MRP member, DCM has asked if any info that Suarez was undercover agent for MRP or if he may be double agent working for Castro.

2. Confidential Controlled Dissem. dated 3 June 1963
Title: Plan of Manuel Ray Rivero to Infiltrate the Ranks of the Central Intelligence Agency

On 30 April 1963, Rogelio Cisneros reported on meeting of JURE exec. board in his home attended by, among others, Antonio Arias. During meeting, Cisneros said it was mentioned that Ray had issued orders to infiltrate a trusted man into the CIA in order to learn details of any plans with regard to Cuba and if possible infiltrate this man into Cuba. Cisneros also said JURE planning leaflet drop into Cuba which will include such matters as Ray's Manifesto against the U.S. Government and against the CIA.

*3. Cable to Director from Paris, dated 19 June 1963 #7727Z

Ray in Paris - contacted by Jervay. Ray driven to airport by Alberto Baez with whom Ray spent much time and who seems to be closest to Ray among his contacts in Paris.. Ray in Paris and Brussels for purpose of turing Franqui and Arcos to agents in place, or defection. Also Cabrera. Ray convinced Cubans here disillusioned with Castro. Asks for update of list of personnel and addresses of all Cuban embassies in Europe to be passed to him in San Juan and RUMBLE 6 in Paris. Wants to be trained in short wave system between himself and RUMBLE 6 and station felt these were good ideas and could be done.

4. Memo for the Record from Alfonso Rodreguez, dated 19 June 1963
Subject: Manolo Ray
Ray's attitude towards CIA - feels that the Agency has in the past purposely and actively attempted to destroy him as a political leader and has proof of at least one CIA officer plotted with certain MRP officials to remove him from the Mrp as a condition for CIA assistance to that organization. Ray cannot be overlooked in the struggle for Cuban freedom. "-- of all the Cubans I have met, he is the most purposeful, methodical, as well as the most experienced clandestine operator.."

5. Confidential Controlled Dissem. dated 27 June 1963
Re: Creation of an Intelligence Corps within the JURE
Reliable information from former Rebel Army member (F) active in clandestine movements. JURE meeting about 30 March 1963 at home of journalist Antonio Arias said JURE national executive board had created an Intelligence Corps with JURE whose function was to infiltrate JURE members into various

Betsy Palmer

1110841

Volume IX continued

organizations operating in Miami, as well as into some of the agencies of the U.S. govt. Said intelligence group would produce great results and stated as an example the infiltration of the U. S. Army.

* 6. Dispatch to Chief, Special Affairs Staff from Chief of Station, JMWAVE
Dated July 22, 1963
Subject: Manuel Ray Rivero's Opinion of CIA [(AMTAUP-2] source of info)
"During a conversation on an unspecified date, involving [AMTAUP-2] Ray and Rogelio Cisneros Diaz, Ray told Cisneros that they had to be very careful with CIA agents because they were more dangerous than the Kennedy Administration. The Kennedy Administration would end but the CIA agents always stayed, and their memory was longer than the memory of elephants and they never forgot or forgave. Ray told Cisneros that he feared CIA agents would try to assassinate him because they were irreconcilable enemies."

Betsy Palmer

Review of Files of Manuel Ray y Rivero, Volumes I - XVIII

April 24, 1978

11110842

Volume X - August 1963 - September 1963

* 1. Memorandum for the Record from Alfonso Rodriguez, dtd. 2 August 1963
Subject: Meeting with Ray (27 July 1963 in Miami)

Ray to attempt a sabotage operation against the Havana power plant and wants 20lbs high explosives as well as 6-8 thermite grenades. Requested that the materials be cached inside Cuba (preferably) or in San Juan. Requested that arrangements be made for Rogelio Cisneros to visit Guatanamo to visit his brother to inform him of JURE plans -- Rodriguez says possibility remote. Ray planning to visit Caracas and Costa Rica later if he has a visa from Mexico. Purpose of trip is fund raising.

2. Cable from JMWAVE to Director #63249 dtd 22 Aug 1963
[Ray's Mexican visa forwarded WAVE by safehand Sept 62 and request it be airmailed to Ray in Puerto Rico.] Ray planning trip Costa Rica, Caracas, Dom. Rep. and Mexico. Departing San Juan 29 August for first leg.

* 3. Memorandum for the Record dated 23 August 1963, from A. Rodriguez
Subject: Ray, Contact Report

Met with Ray in N.Y.C. on 19 August. Rodriguez recommends to Ted Shackley that ammunition for JURE be cached near Florida Keys. Thinks it necessary to help Ray this much in order to measure his capabilities. Ray is having a 25-foot boat outfitted in Miami area to be operational by about Sept. 10. Will be used primarily for infiltration and exfiltration of personnel into Cuba. Ray also says he has been offered a 210 ft. Corvette, flying a Venezuelan flag and owned by Spaniards friendly to JURE. Said he could extend operations along the south coast of Cuba for as much as 2 - 3 weeks with this vessel. Ray was interested in whether or not KLM flights were to be resumed into Cuba as he is hopeful of returning by legal means which would not pose as many difficulties as present Mexican and Spanish air travel conditions.

[Ray says he hoped to soon penetrate the Cuban delegation to the U.N. Said his contact with Ambassador Lechuga, through a woman member of the JURE, continues, but without significant progress. Lechuga is most friendly towards her but does not wish to discuss any of his problems with her.]

Rodriquez recommends continuation of monthly $10,000 payments to Jure and an additional $15,00 to cover cost of vessels to be acquired.-- total of $25,000 monthly for 6 months.

4. Cable to Director from JMWAVE, dated 24 August 1963 #232228Z
Ray Mexican visa waiver number 50844 issued 3 Sept 62 valid for six months, hence now expired. Under circumstances, WAVE not mailing to Ray unless otherwise instructed.

5. Cable to JMWAVE from Director, dtd 24 Aug 63 Cite Dir. 63774 Please air mail as Ray will need to procure new waiver.

SECRET Betsy Palmer

Volume X continued

11110843

6. Cable to [San Jose, Caracas, Santo Domingo, Mexico City,] JMWAVE
From: Director dated 31 August 63

Ray departing 29 Aug. on trip to first three addees. Attempting renew Mexican visa waiver for travel there later. Purpose of trip to solicit political backing, raise funds, tighten JURE organization, streamline communication and establish take-off points for operations against target.

* 7. Cable to Director from JMWAVE dtd 7 Sept 63, Ref WAVE 3895

Reported conversation with Ray's sister-in-law wherein she stated Ray visited her home on 30 August to say goodby. He was going to be infiltrated into Cuba and would not see her for some time. Said he was not in accord with certain U.S. officials on Cuban policy and has no confidence in U.S. ability to liberate Cuba. Said he had refused two invitations extended by RFK to discuss Cuban situation.

8. Document transfer and Cross Reference dtd 10 Sept 63 [UFG-03590]
Ray arrived secretly in Miami from Puerto Rico, had secret meeting with Manuel Quiza Docal, IDR of Cubanos Libres, in which Quiza officially connected his organization to JURE for all action. Later traveled to N.Y.C. to purchase c-4 explosives.

* 9. Cable to Director from JMWAVE dtd 11 Sept 63, report from [AMTAUP-2] who spoke with Rogelio Cisneros on 6 Sept. Cisneros stated Ray departed for Costa Rica on 5 Sept to interview President Orlich. Said on Ray's last meeting with RFD, the private secretary of President Romulo Betancourt was present. Cisneros said JURE objective is to have different prominent figures in Latin American governments witness promises made by U.S. govt. Cisneros said JURE not obligated to report military or political plans to CIA but CIA obligated to deliver to JURE all military equipment needed to fight Castro. Delivery of equipment will be on high seas from a CIA boat to JURE boat which will proceed to Cuba.

10. Cable to Director from JMWAVE, dated 6 Sept 63. Elania Germania (Bernal) de Paula reported she learned from her brother-in-law, Manuel Ray, that he had recently been in Europe negotiating arms purchases in Belgium. Contact man for purchase Col. Ramon Barquin.

11. Cable to Director from MEXI dtd 27 Sept 1963 #6301

[L[01]-2] approached by Julio Lanier on behalf of Ray and JURE. Want to start military operation against Cuba using Mexico as a base. Lanier says Ray receiving money from Venezuela. [L-2 is a CIA agent -] Cuban citizen living in Mexico. [Mexican station] wants to keep him clean of overt exile activity.

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Betsy Palmer

Review of Files on Manuel Ray y Rivero, Volumes I - XVIII
April 24, 1978

11110844

Volume XI - October 1963 - December 1963

1. Field Information Report dated 1 October 1963 Notes that source (a former Cuban diplomat who is a reliable source) said Ray in Tegucigalpa, Honduras about week or 10 days ago -- had spoken with Foreign Minister Roberto Perdomo Paredes (has a 201#). A radio station manager says Ray there about 20 September.

2. Memo for the Record, 2 October 1963 from Alfonso Rodriguez

Met with Ray in San Juan Sept. 24-25, 1963. Said Ray departing Puerto Rico October 7, 1963 for Venequela and perhaps Mexico. Ray and JURE involved in infiltrating Cuba and subsequently invading.

3. Dispatch 3 October 1963 to Chief, WHD from CS/Panama. On 26 Sept 1963, SAGE-1 learned that Jose Puente Blanco recently met with Ray in Costa Rica for a 3-day meeting.

* 4. Draft, dtd 4 October 1963 by Rodriquez
Subject: Manuel Ray Rivero

Ray, unlike many Latain American political leaders, is convinced that organization and work alone can assure lasting political success. Ray's philosophy is a way of life. He is a prodigious worker, given to study of details (training at U. of Utah mentioned) Ray devoting full time to JURE

5. Contact Report 15, dtd 8 October 1963
Contact with MRR member by CO Warren K. Guertler
Would like to know what position to take re: Ray if A-19 asks about U.S. backing. A-19 considers Ray part of Kremlin conspiracy to put someone in power in place of Castro. CO has told A-19 that MRR are CIA's "chosen people" but if someone in U.S. (maybe State Dept) wants Ray, CIA will have to accept him.

6. Cable to Director from JMWAVE, dtd 11 Oct 63
DIR Info, BARR, MEXI Cite WAVE 5656
Persecution of JURE's Mexico City delegation by local secret police
DOI: 26 Sept 63
Information received from Rogelio Cisneros Diaz. Cisneros advises delegation to work clandestinely, operate in cells, and not maintain public offices as they had in the past.

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* 7. Cable to Director from JMWAVE, dtd 11 Oct 63
On October 1, Cisneros tells [AMTAUP-1] that Ray to visit Betancourt later in week to report on status of JURE negotiations with U.S. and promises made to Ray by RFK during recent interviews.

8. CAble 172301Z 17 Octobar 63 to Director from JMWAVE.
On 15 October 1963, Jose (Gomez) Rodriguez, aka Cabeza, JURE member tells [AMTAUP-1] that CIA officials from Washington, D. C. coming to Miami to finalize agreements with JURE. Also said JURE would never tell CIA exact landing sites on Cuban coast.

9. Cable to Director from Mexico City, 26 October 1963
Secret 260035Z
Dir WAVE Cite Mexi 6677
Ref A Mexi 6455 (not sent WAVE) (IN 36021
REF B HMMA 22285 (also recd 2285)
JURE representative Julio Lanier pressing [LI [01] -2] to obtain Mexican visas for Luis Giun Figueredo and Rogelio Cisneros Diaz who want to inspect plane of Ref A.

Fast action needed on [L-2] will not be able to meet Cisnero and have an "in" with JURE group for purpose of coverage of JURE PM activities Mexi. Lanier will set up meeting in Miami or San Juan.

* 10. Dispatch to Chief, Special Affairs from CS/JMWAVE, dtd 21 Oct 63
Information received from [AMTAUP-2]
Ray to arrive in Miami 26 July, in secret, because he wanted to hold private meetings to discuss military affairs with action groups in Miami. Met at home of Rogelio Cisneros Diaz on 28 July. Met with Armando Alanis Angulo and asked him to join JURE. Alanis former Chief of Fiscal District of the Treasury in Camaguey Province. Ray says he has organization inside Cuba but needs personnel on outside with which to operate. Claimed to have 300 weapons in Miami.

On 18 August, Cisneros meets with Alanis and Luis Aguiar (who belongs to Alanis group). Talked of plans for Aguiar's men to infiltrate Las Villas Province and open a JURE organization.

Alanis officially joins JURE on 20 August 1963 and received Cisnero assurances they will get financial help from JURE.

* 11. Cable to Chief, Special Affairs Staff from JMWAVE/CS dtd 22 Oct 1963
#6. On 30 September, Ray departed for San Juan from Miami, after having visited Venezuela, Costa Rica, Honduras and Panama to gain support for operations against Cuba.

12. Cable 79065 on 29 October 1963. [Willard R. Nauman] will arrive San Juan October 31, 1963 to meet Ray in St. Thomas. [Do not plan contact unless need arises.]

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Betsy Palmer

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13. Field Information Report dtd 26 October 1963
Ray in Miami 10/26/63 to meet with Ernesto Betancourt, former MRP and now Washington, D. C. delegate of ELC. May have met in an effort to merge ELC with JURE. Ray feels need to be in Cuba in 90 days - hurricane Flora has seriously damaged Cuba and this is an opportune time.

14. Memo for Record from Alfonso Rodriguez
Subject: Meeting with Ray in St. Thomas on 31 October and 1 November 1963
Discussed JURE plans to begin operations inside Cuba by end of December.

15. Cable dtd 16 Nov 1963 to Director from JMWAVE indicates Ray ~~taking~~ meetig vessel REX within 50 miles of Cuba - cargo, 600 lbs. demolitions.

* 16. Cable dtd 18 November 1963 to JMWAVE from Director confirms understanding that all dates mentioned in Rules of Engagement this operation are moved up two days. Thus, WAVE will begin operation by caching materials and departing scene by 1200 on 25 November 1963.

* 17. Cable dated 3 December 1963 to JMWAVE from Director indicates Ray involved in infiltration plan, Operation BOLA, and CIA doubts his story as to why he couldn't complete mission -- said low on gas.

18. Payments to Ray 21 June 1963 - 5 December 1963, totalled $107,925.00
No payments in November.

* 19. Memo for Record from Alfonso Rodriguez, dtd 13 Dec 1963

Meets with Ray in N.Y.C. 12/6/63. JURE ship failed to pick up materials deposided on Roncador Cay on 25 November 1963. Ray had no full explanation for failure. Low on gas theory doubtful as ship did arrive a Puerto Limon on 27 November as scheduled. -- Ray doubts this story. Alternate date of 20 December set up, embarking from Puerto Limon, Costa Rica this time.

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Betsy Palmer

Review of Manuel Ray y Rivero Files - Volumes I - XVIII

May 1, 1978

11110847

Volume XII - January 1964 - February 1964

1. Intelligence Information Cable, 4 January 1964 - information from Carlos Hernandez Hernandez, an Executive Member of Brigade 2506 veterans Association said the Brigade rejected a proposed alliance with JURE on December 7, 1963. Brigade is opposed to Artime, but more opposed to Ray.

2. Identification provided by CIA for Ray in his attempt to infiltrate Cuba. Request made 6 January 1964 - Ray to use identity of Juan Cardenas Mendez.

3. Cable to Director from JMWAVE, dated 8 January 1964, Dir Cite WAVE 0106

[AMOT-84] said he learned from newspaperman Abelardo (Garcia) Berry that Ray had met in Paris with Carlos Franqui Mesa to propose that Franqui join Ray's organization, that is, sector of "Betrayed Revolution". Garcia believes that in order to obtain Franqui's defection, Ray told him about alleged plans of U.S. to overthrow Castro in which Ray was to play a prominent part. Garcia further believes that Franqui's "falling into disgrace" in Cuba is a trick of Castro and Franqui.

4. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE, dated 8 January 1964 states that Governor Munoz Marin, Puerto Rico, pledged to give Ray double any amount Ray raised on a bond sale by JURE to buy guns. JURE has large quantity of arms in P.R. under protection of the Governor.

* 5. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE, dated 14 January 1964. Cisneros said JURE has military training base in Costa Rica under command of Julio Cesar Alonso, Military Chief of JURE. All JURE boats now at Costa Rican base and also arms which had been in Puerto Rico. Said JURE leaders do not plan ~~to~~ to work in Miami area or anywhere else in U.S. because they are afraid CIA will seize their military equipment.

6. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE, dtd 16 Jan 1964 [Amtaup/2] reported that ~~Armando/Alanis/Angulo~~ Julio Cesar Alonso replaced as chief of Costa Rican military base of JURE because of his failure to go on a scheduled operation. (Check to see if this was the aborted mission of 25 November 1963)

WAVE, dated 30 January 1964. [Amtaup/2] reported
Sanchez and Rogelio Cisneros. Cisneros said FBI and
up JURE arms and explosives cached at Cajon de
ld pick cache up, it was discovered by a fisherman who
RE boat found and searched, but not retained as they
guns overboard. Governor of P.R. called newspapers
ught Castro had cached the arms in order to ~~overthrow~~
id this to sidetrack FBI and INS investagations and
Ray's activities would be revealed. Cisneros
n P.R. and registered in Panama in name of person
o governor P.R. and bitter enemy of CIA. [Amtaup/2]
.R. was trusted by Jure, to which Cisneros replied
nationalist and enemy of U.S. imperialist politics
f CIA.

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 Betsy Palmer

11110848

* 6. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE, dtd 31 Jan 64 - Article in Miami Herlad about the discovery of arms cache in Puerto Rico confirms accuracy of [Amtaup/2] reporting that Ray involved in robbery U.S. Military installation and that Governor Marin is misleading FBI investigation. WAVE believes the C-3 explosive found in cache was provided Ray by WAVE as directed by Hdqtrs, but WAVE did not provide any weapons. WAVE will tell loaal FBI that they know nothing regarding background of cache discovery and assume Hdqtrs will coordinate case at Wash.D.C. level with FBI.

* 7. Intelligence Information Cable, dated 4 Feb. 1964 - reliable source says RAY expected in Caracas, Venezuela middle of February 1964 to establish a guerrilla training base for JURE in venezuela. Will be a regional center used by JHRE members in Venezuela and Panama. (Likely that if Ray succeeds in setting up camp, it will be with tacit consent of Betancourt government. Field Comment). Ray claims he will be inside Cuba by 20 May 1964.

8. Cable to DIR from [Panama City,] dated 9 Feb 1964 states JOSE MARIA PUENTE BLANCO, Panamanian/Cuban, DOB 17 July 1930, Havana, Cuba, left Panama City for Caracas on 8 Feb. He is possible Castro agent and [Panama City] would appreciate information re his activities in Caracas and/or subsequent travel.

* 9. Memo for the Record, dtd 12 Feb 1964 from Alfonso Rodriguez
Subject: Meeting with [AMBANG/1]

ELC, according to Ray, was now disolved and became a part of JURE on 17 Jan. 1964. This brings to JURE the best former rebel army officers in exile and should give JURE a military background and support second to none in the exile community.

Comments: [AMTAUP/2] reports have indicated Cisneros activities and statements are directed against the CIA. Rodriguez discusses [Amtaup/2 s] reporting with [Tony Sforza] and Warren Frank. If Cisneros is in fact directing a program of denigration against the CIA, suggest agency follow the activities of Dionisio Suarez Esquival, who reportedly has been selected to carry out such a program in various Latin American univerities.

10. Cable to DIR from [Panama City,] dated 22 Feb. 1964. The PUENTE BLANCO brothers have been under some suspicion since their arrival in [PACY] following their release from Cuban prison as result of intervention of Thelma King. Part of suspicion is a result of activities of their brother, Jorge, still in Cuba.

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Betsy Palmer

Review of Manuel Ray y Rivero Files - Volumes I - XVIII

May 1, 1978
Volume XIII - March 1964 - April 1964

1110849

1. Memorandum to Acting Chief, Contact Division, dated 6 March 1964
From: Cincinnati R.A.
Thru: Chief, Detroit Office
SUBJECT: Castro Type Subversion Likely/Manuelo Ray Dangerous Exile Leader now in Puerto Rico
REFERENCE: CR-64-2 and WH-1694

Architect, Nocholas Quintana, residing in Cuba, told the following to a Mr. Raphael Katzen, consulting engineer in U.S. Manuelo Ray is in Quintana's opinion more dangerous to U.S. than Castro. Ray is not a Soviet type Communist according to Quintana, but his socialism is so extreme and his anti-U.S. feelings so deep that he considers Ray a dangerous exile leader, at least to the U.S.

Manuelo Ray is known to be of interest to the local FBI (Cincinnati).

(Check -- is ~~this CIA memo~~ DCD file?)

2. Memorandum for the Record, dated 16 March 1964
From: [Sidney P. Di Ubeldo]
Subject: Contact Report, Meeting with Ernesto Betancourt

Betancourt has known Ray for several years and admired him through all various seasons of their relationship. Betancourt impressed with Ray's organizational talents and talents as an engineer.. Says Ray an effective and judicious personality and appeals to Cuban exiles of various stripes. Betancourt expressed a fear that Ray, in his zeal, might commit himself to such tight timing that he would be forced to undertake action at a disadvantageous moment.

[Di Ubaldo] comments that if Betancourt was leading him on in an attempt to sell Ray to him, it was done with a "subtlety to which I am definitely not accustomed".

* 3. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE, dtd 17 March 1964. Cisneros told [AMTAUP/2] that CIA had ordered personnel of [AMWORLD] (Artime's group) boats to fire on JURE boats and therefore Cisneros had instructed his crewmen to fire on [AMWORLD] boats wherever encountered. CITE WAVE 3691

Cisneros had meeting at his home on 15 March, attended by Armando Alanis Angulo, Dunney Perez Alamo, Jose Puente Blanco, National Chief JURE youth and member of JURE national Executive, and [AMTAUP/2]. Cisneros related that Romulo Betancourt told Ray in Caracas that Betancourt will work in favor of JURE. Puente confirmed this. Betancourt promised to arrange urgent meeting with U.S. officials in Washington to get promise from them that CIA would not sabotage any of JURE's planned operations.

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*4. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE, dtd 28 March 1964 - [AMTAUP/2] spoke with Blas Enrique Comas Castro, captain of JURE boad VENUS which is in Puerto Rico. Said Cisneros and Ray recently arrived in P.R. from Caracas and said Venus would be used to infiltrate Ray into Cuba in a few days.

[AMTAUI/2] said Armando Alanis Angulo said he was leaving Miami on 30 March for new JURE base within 6 hours of Miami. Said base under responsibility of Dunney Perez Alamo and himself. Also said Ray had chosen Venus to make trip to Cuba and Venus armed with 20MM gun, four 50 Cal and one 30 Cal machine guns.

5. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE, dtd 28 Marhh 1964 - [AMTAI /2] reports that Alanis, Perez and Antonio Arias Gonzalez, JURE members, are dissatisfied with Ray's organization because they had now been forbidden to criticize U.S. government policies, and the fact that they were allowed to have a training camp near Miami indicated that Ray is accepting CIA aid. Cisneros claimed the main objective of JURE was to keep U.S. govt. entertained with the training base set up in Miami area and that departure of JURE members to infiltrate Cuba will be outside U.S.

6. Accounting of funds received by Ray, from June 21, 1963 - April 8, 1964, show a total expenditure of $217,924.28 by CIA.

*7. Memo for the Chief, WH Division, dated 14 April 1964, from Alfonso Rodreguez - Subject: My Meeting with Ray on 13 April 1964.

Essense of Ray's plans: 1. Two teams expected to go into Oriente Province this week.
2. Ray will turn over JURE contact with us to Cisneros, effective 23 April.

Ray's immediate objective once in Cuba will be to initiate systematic, continuous bombings of strategic and non-strategic targets. Power plant in Havana, major refinery and aquaduct in Santa Clara are immediate objectives.

*8. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE, dtd 26 April 1964. [AMT /2] reported that JURE training base opened near Tampa, Fla. for 30 men and planning to set up a base in Dominican Republic.

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File Review, Manuel Ray y Rivero - Volumes I - XVIII

May 1, 1978
Volume XIV - May 1964

1110851

1. [AMWORLD] -MRR Meeting in San Juan, P.R., 2-5 May 1964
   Subject: Ray's Plans
   Submitted by [Henry l. Heckshe]r WH/SA/SO/HH

Ray's plans to infiltrate Cuba by 20 May were discussed at meeting. Questions about Ray's financing of Puerto Rican conference and ability to store arms and engage in training activities on U.S. soil were raised by [AMYUM/19] (MRR) Member). He volunteered to tell [Heckshe]r where arms could be found be [Heckshe]r "quickly dissuaded him from divulging further details" at which point [AMYUM 19] commented that [GUERTLER] had reacted in a similar way when offered facts and figures about Ray's activities. Artime stated he would not put it past Ray to go into hiding in a secure place while pretending to be in Cuba.

2. Cable to JMWAVE from DIR, 7 May 1964 - After looking at [AMTAUP/] material, it is obvious much of conspiratorial talk in JURE is for internal consumption only, the purpose being to protect myth that JURE is independent as basically hostile to CIA. In a desire to obtain proof of any anti-CIA or U.S. govt. activity by Ray, urge every effort to check accuracy of [AMTAUP/AMOT] reporting and follow through for any overt manifestations of many allegations made.

3. Memo for the Director of Central Intelligence, from Richard Helsm, DD/P, dated 13 May 1964. Subject: Plans of Manuel Ray and the JURE to Infiltrate into Cuba.

Helms says there is no question but that Ray seriously plans to enter Cuba sometime in May 1964. JURE has 6 teams ready to infiltrate -- a total of 27 men. Ray hopes with aid of 40 men, he can demonstrate that resistance is possible and that Castro can be defied.

* 4. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE, , dtd 20 May 1964. Andrew St. George, on assignment with Time-Life, left Miami 18 May with JURE elements for rendezvous with Ray.

* 5. Memo for the Record dtd 20 May 1964, from Samuel Halpern
   Subject: JURE Purchase of Arms

Chronological resume of reports reaching WH/SA desk regarding attempted purchase of arms by JURE in El Monte, California.

A. Revenue officials queried CIA re its knowledge of certain arms being handled by Juan Erquiaga Aizcorbe in L.A. area for shipment to Florida. WH/SA denied knowledge. Discussion about 20 May 1964.

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11110852

B. Rogelio Cisneros calls Rodriguez (~~Halpern~~) on 20 May to advise him certain arms being manufactured to JURE specifications in El Monte and being investigated by U.S. Treasury. Cisneros says JURE has invested $50,000 in these weapons being manufactured bu Knuson (sic) Manufacturing Co.

C. Rodriguez (~~the undersigned~~) tells Cisneros this is pretty sad situation that JURE must make use of Costa Rican, Venezuelan and other L.A. connections or they were going to get "clobbered" in U.S.

D. Halpern and Rodrigaez advised Mr. FitzGerald of the above. He agreed agency could not assist JURE in this matter. On 20 May, Mr. Bowdler of St. Dept. notified of the matter, and Deputy Chief, WH/SA advised.

E. Joseph O'Neill of OGC called on 20 May and informed that JURE was involved but agency did not want Revenue called off its investigation because of the "autonomous" nature of our relationship with JURE.

6. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE, dtd 22 May 1964. Sender states that the manner of Tad Szulc in an office visit on May 21 and new confident tone expressed by Cisneros conveyed feeling to cable sender that Ray has made it into Cuba.

7. Cable to JMWAVE from DIR, dated 23 May 1964. Request [Reuteman] advise [AMCARBON/1] that he has checked with hdqtrs and that Ray is not receiving CIA support. [Reuteman] should trace history of intimate relationship of [AMCAPE/1] with Ray noting that since Bay of Pigs, [AMCAPE/1] has been serving, in effect, as a public relations man and lobbyist for Ray. Further explain to [AMCARBON/1] that [AMCAPE/1] must be credited with single-handedly placing entire Cuban nation on alert and causing withdrawal of masses of conscripted workers from cane fields merely by articles playing on theme of threat of infiltration of Ray and a few men. Tell [AMCARBON/1] that CIA would not become party to Ray operation knowing close relationship with [AMCAPE/1,] particularly since latter well known to be less than friendly to CIA.

8. Intelligence Information Cable, dtd 26 May 1964. Cisneros says that as of 23 May 1964, no contact has been established with Ray but Cisneros believes he has reached Cuba.

9. Intelligence Information Cable, dtd 28 May 1964 - Cisneros says Ray has not as yet been able to infiltrate Cuba and will make ~~another~~ attempt night of 28 May 1964. Cisneros says vigilance by U.S. authorities over activities of JURE reps. in Florida making support of Ray's effort extremely difficult.

Betsy Palmer

File Review of Manuel Ray y Rivero - Volumes I - XVIII

11110853

May 1, 1978
Volume XV - June 1964

* 1. Intelligence Information Cable, dtd 30 May 1964 - information from Rogelio Cisneros Diaz - as of 30 May 1964, Ray had not entered Cuba. Boat to be used in final infiltration developed motor trouble. JURE reps were making all out effort to go to Ray's aid with replacement for boat and an additional supply of drinking water.

2. Cable to JMWAVE from DIR, dated 2 June 1961, Ref: WAVE 7218 (in 95616)* Please note similarities rumor reported Ref Para 2 and statement attributed to Rogelio Cisneros that CIA had instructed AMWORLD boats to fire on JURE boats per WAVE 3691 (IN 41477). Is this significant?

* Artime's followers authorized to attack any of Ray's or Gutierrez's men on high seas.

* 2. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE dated 3 June 1964 ; stating that Ray and Andrew St. George were among the individuals arrested by the British near Cayo Largo. (Location of Anguilla Cay also used in cable). Detainees taken to Nassau. Tom Dunkan, Life photographer, also in group.

3. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE, dtd 4 June 1964 - AMTAUP/2 reported that Ray's organization going to make press statement that Ray's failure to enter Cuba was fault of CIA.

* 4. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE dtd 6 June 1964 reflects feelings of Cuban exile community over Ray's failure to enter Cuba.

- a. Ray made a fool of himself by taking a girl and two non-Cuban newsmen with him, none of whome adapted to rigors of guerrilla warfare.
- b. British and U.S. participated in Ray's capture
- c. Whole thing was a publicity stunt which went wrong.
- d. Enrique Huertas jubilant over Ray's disgrace, but feels it is a loss of exile prestige and harbingers bleak and hopeless period
- e. Dr. Antonio Maceo says many have lost faith in Ray for lack of accomplishment this past year.
- f. Ray is laughing stock. Those who had hopes now feel he is only an ambitious politican not will to keep promises.
- g. JURE members confused and undecided over how to defend Ray. Alanis and Zarraga wish to remove their followers from JURE.
- h. Cisneros states to AMTAUP that Ray will accuse U.S. govt of treachery for cutting off economic aid one month ago and for searching his home, automobile and offices (Cisnero's?)(Photostats in volume XIV)

Betsy Palmer

11110654

5. Memo for the Record, dtd 9 June 1964, from Alfonso Rodreguez
Subject: Possible Plans of Ray

Opinion of Rodriguez that Ray will attempt asap to mount another infiltration effort. He is relatively certain JURE has or can procure a small craft capable of making trip from Florida to Cuba. He also thinks that ~~either Cisneros or~~ Ray "would be willing to publicly give the lie to the TIME magazine article of 12 June 1964.

6. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE, dtd 10 June 1964 - re-canvassing of exile community reveals Ray's prestige at near-absolute low point. Trend is tendency to ignore Ray completely. Information that JURE in considerable dissension. Threats of various factions to withdraw unless Cisneros dismissed and national board reorganized.

7. Memo for Record, dtd 12 June 1964 from Samuel Halpern
Subject: Information from the British in Answer to Questions Re; Identify of American Who Allegedly Paid Manuel Ray's fine in Nassau.

05
[Chris Phillpotts] called 12 June to say Gov. of Bahamas had replied to our query as to the identify of American who allegedly paid Ray's fine in Nassau. (see TIME of 12 June 1964, page 48 -- alleged CIA paid). Governor stated he had seen no such figure and to best of his knowledge, there was no such person. "I of course did not tell [Chris Phillpotts] that we knew the identity of the American as reported to us by Rogelio Cisneros of JURE."

8. Memo for Record, dtd 12 June 1964 from Alfonso Rodriguez
Subject: JURE telegram to TIME Magazine

Protest falsity of information published by TIME re: capture of Manuel Ray and his group. False that a CIA ship participated in any phase of operation. Also false that a CIA individual paid fine -- the $84.00 was sent to JURE by an American citizen at request of one of his employees.

9. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE, dtd 27 June 1964: According to [AMFAST/6,] Ray informed Pepe Catillo (Jose Garcia Valdez) their departure date for Cuba would be July 1. Boat to be used is unnamed Rybovitch rented in Ft. Lauderdale. Ray planning to stay in Cuba about 15 days.

* 10. Memo for Record, dtd 29 June 1964, from Alfonso Rodriguez
Subject: Establishment of Base Abroad; Manuel Ray Rivero

On June 22, the Special Group agreed "no monies would be forthcoming, specifically a requested $25,000, until he ceased" all activities from U.S. mainland.

[redacted]

Betsy Palmer

File Review - Manuel Ray y Rivero - Volumes I - XVIII
May 2, 1978

11110855

Volume XVI - July 1, 1964 - August 28, 1964

1. Draft on Manuel Ray by Alfonso Rodriguez dtd 6 July 1964

After his failure to reach Cuba during May 1964, Ray believes he must go into Cuba as soon as possible. Within JURE, according to Ray, his detention by the British is viewed as an unfortunate incident. Ray said some JURE members considering demonstrations before British embassies and consulates.

2. Memo for the Record dtd 7 July 1964 from Alfonso Rodriguez
Subject: Tad Szulc Relationship with Manuel Ray

Rodriguez questioned Ray's using newspaper correspondents as emissaries to departments of the U.S. govt. Ray stated that Szulc took it upon himself to speak about matters related to assisting Ray. Rodriguez says it would be wrong to assume that Ray is controlled by Szulc but Ray "undoubtedly knows that Szulc has worked hard, first with President Kennedy and now, for him and his interest. This cannot but influence Ray."

2. Intelligence Information Memo, 14 and 15 June 1964 [redacted]
Source: [redacted]

JURE's national executive met 14/15 June to discuss crisis within the organization concerning Cisneros. Dr. Raul Chibas Ribas stated that if Cisneros not removed from his position, Chibas would make public his resignation.

* 3. Memorandum for Director of Central Intelligence, dtd 9 July 1964
From: Desmond FitzGerald, Chief/WH Division
Subject: Chronology of Concept of Autonomous Operations and Summary of Financial Support to Manuel Artime

Attachment A is listing of origin, briefings, discussions, and approvals by appropriate policy levels of the concept of autonomous operations and specifically support to Artime. Chron clearly shows that from the very beginning the problems inherent in autonomous operations were clearly stated at all times by the Agency and that appropriate policy levels were kept fully and regularly informed of the status of autonomous operations.

Attachment B contains summary and breakdown of financial support for Artime. Summary states that, "From June 1963 through 30 June 1964 the Agency spent $4,933,293 in support of the Artime operation." Fixed monthly subsidy is $225,000.

[redacted]

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Betsy Palmer

111.10856

Volume XVI - continued
page 2

Origin of Autonomous Operations

Integrated Covert Action Program for Cuba, approved by Higher Authority in June 1963, provided for "support of autonomous anti-Castro Cuban groups to supplement and assist in the execution" of other courses of action. Concept was first voiced in Sept. 1962 in Walter Rostow's proposal for a "Track Two" approach to Cuban operations. Parallel to regular CIA-controlled Cuban teams, CIA would extend financial aid and some advice and guidance to independent and uncontrolled Cuban leaders such as Manuel Ray.

Rules of Engagement incorporated into June 1963 program.

1. "It is the keystone of autonomous operations that they will be executed exclusively by Cuban nationals motivated by the conviction that the overthrow of the Castro/Communist regime must be accomplished by Cubans, both inside and outside Cuba acting in consonance.

2. The effort will probably cost many Cuban lives. If this cost in lives becomes unacceptable to the U.S. conscience, autonomous operations can be effectively halted by the withdrawal of U.S. support; but once halted, they cannot be resumed.

3. All autonomous operations will be mounted outside the territory of the United States.

4. The United States Government must be prepared to deny publicly any participation in these acts no matter how loud or even how accurate may be the reports of U. S. complicity.

5. The United States presence and direct participation in the operation would be kept to an absolute minimum. Before entering into an operational relationship with a group, the U.S. representative will make it clear that his Government has no intention of intervening militarily, except to counter intervention by the Soviets. An experienced CIA officer would be assigned to work with the group in a liaison capacity. He would provide general advice as requested as well as funds and necessary material support. He may be expected to influence but not control the conduct of operations.

6. These operations would not be undertaken within a fixed time schedule."

4. Article from New York Times, Wednesday, July 15, 1964, bylined Tad Szulc "Ray Said To Leave For Cuba Landing - Castro Foe, Balked in May, Reported on Way Again."

* 5. Cable to DIR from [JMBARR] dtd 15 Jul 1964. M/V True with Manolo Ray and crew returned Key West area --- had motor trouble.

6. Cable to DIR from JMWAVE, dtd 18 July 1964. Ray's latest misadventures trying get into Cuba mid-July greeted with relative indifference majority Cuban exiles Miami area.

* 7. Wireservice prinout - Miami, Flay, July 24, 1964. Three exile groups withdrew from Ray's JURE today protesting that Ray failed to make good his promise to enter Cuba to reactivate the anti-Castro underground. Spokesman was Jesus Dieguez of the Revolutionary National Assembly.

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Betsy Palmer

Review of Files - Manuel Ray y Rivero - Volumes I - XVIII

Volume XVII - September 1964 - February 1965 11110857
May 2, 1978

1. Memo dtd 1 Sept 1964, Subject: [AMTAUP-2] Production
"Chief of Reports Comments: It would appear that [AMTAUP-2's] reporting on JURE matters have been generally reliable."

* 2. Autonomous Operations - Operating Plan
Activity: [AMBANG]
For the Period: 1 October - 31 December 1964. Total of $75,000 paid to effect move of JURE activities from U.S. territory and as a final payment to JURE.

3. Intelligence Information Cable, dtd 9 Sept 1964
Source: Jose Garcia Valdez, aka "Pepe Gatillo"
Subject: Plans of JURE leader Manuel Ray Rivero to depart Miami for an Undisclosed Location.

Ray asked Garcia on 9 Sept 64 to take him, St. George and Mirta Borras on trip to unspecified destination. To depart on JURE catamaran.

* 4. Memo for the Record, dtd 11 Sept 1964 from Alfonso Rodreguez

On Aug 24, 1964, Rogelio Cisneros called to report his resignation from JURE. Stated Ray incapable of directing both political and military activities. Cisneros thinks Raul Chibas will soon also resign. Cisneros said Ray not prepared for ill-fated May attempt into Cuba and Cisneros thinks Ray had believed he could arrange for CIA to take him into Cuba. "Ray is politically uninformed --- politically that which he last read". Cisneros further stated that he believed Ray had planned his entire return-to-Cuba angle with President Kennedy and the presidential elections of November 1964 in mind. According to him, Ray planned to make JURE and Ray outstanding liberal and democractic exile group with the thought that prior to the 1964 elections, Mr. Kennedy would have to do something about Cuba. With Kennedy's death, according to Cisneros, all of Ray's plans went awry. Rodriguez expresses to Cisneros that this seems like a far-fetched possibility and Cisneros admits he got idea out of thin air, but said theory widely held within Directorate of JURE.

* 5. Memo for the Record - draft - dtd 22 Sept 1964 - Alfonso Rodriguez
Conclusions "I recommend we give Ray what he asks and close the JURE books for good. If Ray is succesful in Cuba he will not need our help, if he is not, our help won't do much good.

"He is honest and at least the money will largely be spent for the purpose he wants to achief.

"Whatever Ray may ever say, he was treated the way he asked to be treated. We have played the game in a manner beyond reproach."

Betsy Palmer

Volume XVII - continued
Page 2

11110858

6. Erquiaga Arms shipment to JURE episode.
Cable from [redacted] DIR CITE [redacted]7152] REF: DIR-63886

Please pass to Asst. Sec. Mann from Ambassador Telles: "I saw President Orlich and Minister Quiros Sasso on 18 November and conveyed reference position. The President was visibly shaken to learn that US government was not involved in this arms shipment. After some discussion with Minister Quiros, President Orlich requested that we not issue license for [AMBANG-1] shipment. President Orlich made clear he would be happy at any time to undertake action such as this if US government wanted him to. While he does wish see Cuba free he inclined to agree with US position Re Hit and Run raids undertaken principally for publicity sake. President Orlich's decision based on (1) relaization that he would not be doing us a favor and, (2) further realization that CRG would be hard pressed to explain such a $70,000 purchase of arms if it became a campaign issue in 1965."

[redacted]

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File Review Manuel Ray y Rivero, Volumes I - XVIII

Volume XVIII - March 1965 -----------   11110853
May 2, 1978

1. Memo dtd 18 November 1965 to: United States Secret Service
   From: Deputy Director for Plans
   Subject: Ray, Rivero, Manuel Antonio aka: Ray, Manolo

In response to a telephonic request of 15 Nov. 1965 for a name trace on Ray. CIA files contain voluminous information from sources of varying reliability re: Ray who is well known to Intelligence Community as a prominent anti-Castro Cuban exile leader and head of JURE. If particular info is desired, please specify.

2. Memo dtd 6 Dec 1965 to Secret Service from DD/P gives 2 1/2 page standard bio information on Ray.

3. Memo dtd 15 Dec 1965 to Commissioner, INS from DD/P
   Subject: Roige Cerezo, Jose
   (A 12 399 923 TC)

According to CIA files, information dtd Aug 1963 from a Cuban emigree source, Roige was designated chief of intelligence by National Direction Abroad of JURE. Source said intelligence group created in March 1963 on orders of Manuel Ray for purpose of infiltrating JURE members into various organizations which operated in Miami area, as well as into agencies of U.S. govt. Further, that in April 1963, Ray had issued orders to infiltrate a JURE member into CIA in order to learn details of plans regarding Cuba. JURE also intended to drop leaflets into Cuba of a derogatory nature regarding U.S. govt. Included in these leaflets was Subject's manifesto against the U.S. govt and against this Agency.

4. Ltr. dtd June 2, 1966 from Dr. Julian Gallo to Harry (Mahoney?)
Gallo is contact with Ray in Puerto Rico and trying to discover the names of Ray's contacts in Cuba. Ray, apparently is seeking a Mexican visa from Gallo and unhappy that it did not come through. Refused to reveal names or addresses to Gallo and would not give information about where his radio broadcast tapes were to be sent for transmission into Cuba.

5. Memo for the Record, dtd 21 June 1966 from Charles Anderson
Met with Ray on 28 April 1966. Anderson said in general Ray had less information on the "purge situation that I did." Ray said relatives of Gustavo Arcos in P.R. had telephone contact with Arcos family in Cuba, about 25 April and that Arcos still in prison but charges against him were thin. "(This means there was at least one more telephone call than we knew of previously, and this has probably served to increase the pressure on Arcos)." Anderson tells of his concern and strong interest in Arcos on the chance that Ray might assume Arcos had been CIA agent. Doesn't know if Ray will construe remark this way but it seemed like an opening "to use an important exile channel as a possible deception mechanism."

"I believe that later in the summer it might be a good idea to have another talk with [AMBANG] to keep up with exile thinking, and feeding more deception thoughts."

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Betsy Palmer

Volume XVIII continued
Page 2

11110860

6. Intelligence Information Cable, dtd 28 June 1966
Source: Qualified American Observer

On 15 June 1966, Rafael Garcia-Bango, Cuban exile in Spain, received call in Madrid from Ray in P.R. regarding Ray's plans to assume power in Cuba. Garcia-Bango told Ray it was essential he come Madrid before 25 June and return to San Juan in order to talk to a member of Cuban delegation for 10th Caribbean and CenAm games in P.R., prior to return of delegation to Cuba. Ray agreed to do so.

Ray enthusiastic over possibility of overthrowing Castro in next several months. Knows Garcia-Bango has bad reputation but feels he could prove useful. Also useful would be Garcia-Bango's brother, Jorge Garcia-Bango Dirube, who has more respectable reputation. Ray also state that he had received indirectly a message from Jose Llanusa Gobel and c onsiders him a potential ally.

7. Harry Mahoney debriefs Ray, described in Memo for the Record dtd 8 July 1966. Mentions Julian Gallo at this time and Ray indicates he knows and respects him.

8. Memo No. 771, 1 Sept 1966 for: Chief, OPS Cuba/WH Division/DDP Attn: Mr. Harry Mahoney, Subject: MIG-21. Attaching communication from DIA authorizing $100,000 should MIG-21 operation succeed. Funds to come from Air Force escrow fund [now held by CIA.]
(Note: Other memos refer to MIG which Ray said he knew a Cuban pilot would fly out of Cuba. Ray never comes through with any information that is usable, and finally says he cannot contact pilot)

* 9. Cable dtd 4 Jan 69 CITTE WH/Miami 2233
Ref: [redacted]1490

[AMOT] reports on 9 Aug 68 indicating Ray plans to dissolve JURE and hold a Congress of Cuban exiles in 1969 to create a new organization to fight Castro. Ray working with Haitian groups and hopes, if new invasion of Haiti successful, he will be granted operational bases and radio station in Haiti.

10. Memo dtd Feb. 8, 1971 to Director, FBI from DD/P indicates that CIA has no current operational interest in Manuel Ray Rivero.

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Betsy Palmer

April 5, 1978
Review of Manuel Rey Rivero files

11110861

Assortment of documents not in files at time review began on 3/29/78

1. 10 June 1966 Dispatch to Chief, WH, From Chief of Station, [redacted] Subject: Haitian Exile Activities in the Dominican Republic.

02 [EMHEFTY-1] provided information on Haitian exile activities. On May 30, 1966, [EMHEFTY] was taken to a meeting ~~by~~ (with) Godefray Moscoso at the Hotel Comercial.
02 [EMHEFTY] was taken to meeting by Gerard Max Lafontant, a Haitian Communist At the meeting, Lafontant told Moscoso that Manolo Rey had obtained explosives for him to use in the first invasion against Haiti and that Rey was now living in the Dominican Republic. Lafontant described Rey as a former collaborator of Fidel Castro, but was not now on speaking terms with Castro. He said the Communist-oriented 14th of June Revolutionary Movement had on one occasion accused Rey of being a CIA [~~WOFACT~~] agent, but this was not true. Rey can obtain explosives within 24 hours after the request is made.

* 2. Cable to Director from Hunt, August 25, 1960 states that Carrillo advised that FRD should keep an eye on new anti-Castro group being formed by Raul Chibas and Manuel Ray, Marcel Fernandez, Julio Durate and Jose Pepin Bosch. Chibas told Carrillo that Miro would follow Chibas line which would be neither join nor fight FRD but help if necessary. Bosch financing Chibas and Miro with initial credit. Results negative when Carillo invited new group to join FRD. Carrillo feels if new group succeeds, it will try to draw in Feliue Pazos and Ramon Barquin. (Note date of cable)

* 3. Dispatch to Deputy Chief, WH/SA from Chief of Station, JMWAVE dated 14 April 1964 in Mexico, D. F. Lengthy and very rambling letter which, among many other things, states the story about Manuel Ray being closely associated with ALBIZU CAMPOS and friendly with Puerto Ricans who were working on the rennovation of the White House and the group that tried to assassinate Truman. (Pencilled notation of A. Rodriguez -- "Who is [AMSHOT/1?] Could he be agent provacateur? What is his access? Can we take him seriously?) Although postmarked in Mexico, [AMSHOT] apparently still in Cuba. (1964) Not a Cuban citizen - wife in U.S. Trying to get a Mexican Visa.

4. Cable 21 May 1964 or information report.
On 21 May 1964, unidentified members of JURE stated that Manuel Ray Rivero entered Cuba successfully on 17 May 1964 and is still there. He departed from an unidentified embarcation point near Cuba at 3 am on 17 May and reached his destination by 10 am that day. Ray was accompanied by a labor leader believed to be JOSE COMEZ RODRIGUEZ and a 22 year old man who was to serve as Ray's communications clerk and guide.

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[redacted]

5. Field Information Report on Cuba
   Subject: Lecture of Manuel Ray Rivero to Member of JURE's Delegation from Tampa, Orlando, and Miami, Florida
   Date: 26 May 1965
   Source: A young Cuban exile trained in information collection.

Ray gave opening lecture to 25-30 JURE delegates gathered in Miami on 22 May 1965. Ray claims JURE has men and equipment to win war of liberation in Cuba and reiterates that only an internal revolution will overthrow Castro. Said some arms had been left on a military base in the Dominican Republic and that, regardless of who takes over in the DR, the arms will be returned to JURE. Made an appeal for money so that organization would purchase the M/V VENUS, a 110-foot vessel registered in Panama. (Previous reporting on JURE's base and equipment in DR contained in the following: TDCSDB-315/00539-65, 16 Feb 65; TDCSDB-315/00301-65, 38 Jan 65; TDCSDB-315/00383-65, 27 Jan 65; and TDCSDB-315/00269-65, 28 Jan 65.

* 6. Field Information Report on Cuba
   Subject: Plan of Manuel Ray Rivero to Infiltrate the Ranks of the Central Intelligence Agency
   Date: 30 April 1963
   Source: Former Rebel Army member (F) active in clandestine movements
   Appraisal of Content: 3

On 30 April 1963, Rogelio Cisneros, JURE Exec. Bd. member, said a meeting held in his home and Antonio Arias, propaganda chief in Miami, in attendance. Cisneros said it was mentioned that Ray had issued orders to infiltrate a trusted man into the CIA in order to learn details of any plans with regard to Cuba and if possible to infiltrate this man into Cuba. Cisneros said it might be possible to use contacts of George Volsky (sp?) who had CIA contacts. In regard to future propaganda, JURE plans to introduce thousands of anti-American phamphlets into Cuba, including Ray's manifesto against the U.S. government and the CIA.

* 7. Report on Cuba/Dominican Republic
   Subject: Urgent plan of Manuel Ray Rivero to Enter Cuba
   Involvement of Ray with Eloy Gutierrez Menoyo and Haiti
   Date: 18 September 1964
   Source: [[illegible]] part of group of Cubam emigres trained in techniques of information collection.

Andrew St. George said Ray is attempting to drop himself into Cuba, regardless of risk, to regain his political prestige. Ray feels he cannot now compete with Eloy Gutierrez Menoyo, military leader of SNFE, and other revolutionary organizations, unless he enters Cuba. He wants to have same influence of others when Haiti leadership starts distributing bases to Cuban exiles and providing them help for their aid in overthowing Francois Duvalier (a trade off). According to St. George, the Haiti combine is composed of Gutierrez, Antonio Cuesta del Valle of Commandos L, and DRE members. Also, Rolando Masferrer Rojas on the inside of Haiti operations and has the most influence among the Haitians.

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8. Information Report - Cuba/Dominican Republic
Subject: Purchase of a Boston Whaler for Manuel Ray Rivero, Leader of the Junta Revolucionaria Cubana (JURE)
Date: 18 September 1964
Source: Naturalized American citizen - formerly in shipping business in Cuba, well-trained and experienced debriefer

On 14 Sept 1964, a Miami yacht builder firm purchased a 13-foot six inch Boston whaler for Ray. Purchaser, Angel Aixala Pertierra said he planned to go to Santo Domingo to get permission to operate the whaler in Dominican waters, and once this had been granted, would deliver the boat to Ray. It was on Aixala's Catamaran ct 1208 D, that Ray made his ill-fated initial attempt to enter Cuba. Aixala is not a member of JURE.

* 9. Classified Message to Director, from [Paris]
Date: 8 June 1963

[Ray and Emio Guede arrived in Paris and Ray contacted by Nauman on 7 June. Reviewed plan for Franqui recruitment in place. Urged Ray to take immediate action before his presence in Paris was leaked. Guede tries to contact Franqui by phone and on all occasions, phone answered by Edith Sorel or her roomate, Helene Pulish (phonetic). Guede leaves message each time and on last call told Franqui going to Brussels and may have already left. On 7 June Guede sees Franqui at the opening of his exhibition and talks to him. Franqui listened to him, but made no responses to his veiled overatures. Guede surmizes Franqui not interested -- thinks he is incapable of defending regime but not willing or capable of breaking with it. Grovery and JERVAY met Ray. Feel this important re possible future use Ray Europe. Pari support excellent. (C/S comment: HQS has reason believe no obstacle convincing Ray push for Franqui return for period to be eyes and ears anti-Castro conspiracy.)]

* 10. Cable Report to Director, from [Paris]
Date: 14 June 1963

Ray and party travel to Brussels on 11 June, and Ray continues his efforts [to recruit an agent in place for CIA.] Contacts Guillamo Cabrera and surmised Cabrera held back from a break due to his concern for a brother inside who is ill. Ray asks Cabrera to arrange a meeting with Gustave Arcos but Cabrera unable to do so since Arcos leaving for a few days. Ray extends his trip. [Contacts Nauman who tells Ray it is not possible to resolve all the personal problems of those he has contacted and Ray must show them the wisdom and practicality of working in place as a means of eliminating the regime. Ray willing to settle for defection as he believes this has an impact on the regime. Report states that Ray extremely active, moves fast and purposefully, and has given impression of frank cooperation. Has volunteered to assign a man to be station contact, but feels (0) RUMBLE 2 is too young but should be aware of whomever is designated.]

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Miscellaneous documents not in files
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*11. Information Cable to Director from JMWAVE
Date: 5 November 1963
Subject: Unification Activities by Manuel Ray Rivero, 23 Oct 1963
Source: A trained observer with access to wide variety of Cuban exiles. Source is known to most of his contacts as a channel to U.S. intelligence. Obtained information from Reinaldo Pico Ramon, officer in the Alianza de Trabajadores Cubanos (ATC, Alliance of Cuban Workers).

Pico was told by an unidentified informant, who is probably on the JURE National Executive, that Luis Manuel Rodriguez, a former rebel army lieutenant from Santioago de Cuba, and who was known as "Mama Dolores" while a member of Brigade 2506, is serving as a Ray agent at Fort Benning, Georgia. Individuals who are working with Rodriguez are SILAS CUERVO CASTILLO and LUIS CLEMENTE BARCENA SERRANO, both former members of Brigade 2506.

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